1: Karsten--224-226 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 844 (1928-29)

"When the mother begins to feel the pangs of childbirth she is at [225] once taken out from the house, to a special shelter of palm leaves constructed in the neighbourhood of it, in the plantain or manioc plantation, whither she is accompanied by an elderly woman who acts as a midwife. The house must not be polluted by the childbirth, nor are other persons of the family, and still less outsiders, allowed to be present. The bewitching arrows of sorcerers and the 'evil eye', which may seriously complicate matters, are especially feared on such occasions. Generally the Indian woman bears children with ease, and should the birth be difficult this would be a sure sign that evil spirits or mysterious influences have been at work.

In order to facilitate delivery, both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are in the habit of scraping off with a knife a little of the poisonous sting of the ray and mixing this powder with the drink or food of the woman. This will have the effect of promoting the exit of the foetus.

The Jibaros moreover practise the following custom for the same purpose. A medicine-man is called in; he takes a hen's egg, blows upon it and mutters a special conjuration over it, holding it close to his mouth; thereupon he breaks the egg allowing its contents to pour directly into the mouth of the pregnant woman who, sitting on a bench, has to swallow it raw without touching it with her hands. The idea is that the woman will now be delivered of her foetus as easily as the hen is delivered of its egg.

There is a special kind of banana which the Indians call palanda noa, 'the female plantain'. Generally the banana belongs to those plants to which the Indians ascribe the male sex, but the palanda noa forms an exception owing to the tendency of its shell to burst open when the fruit is boiled. At Canelos the men avoid eating this banana, otherwise, they say, their wives will bear only female children. On the other hand, they readily let their wives eat it because it is believed to facilitate their delivery.

When the child has arrived, the woman is washed with hot water and the flow of blood is stopped by heated lava stones. The umbilical cord is cut off, not with a knife, but with a sharp split of wild bamboo (shingyána). The iron of the whites is to the Indians in a way taboo and therefore not used at certain important ceremonies. 'With the knife we cut flesh into pieces', a Jibaro explained to me, 'we do not therefore touch our delicate children with it'. If a knife or some other iron instrument were used to cut the cord with, this would be the same as cutting off the life of the child: the little one would die. The bit of cord remain-[226]ing with the babe is attended to with great care, and when it falls off after some days it is, like the after-birth, placenta, buried 'in order that the dogs or other animals shall not be able to eat them', an eventuality which likewise would imply danger for the life of the child.

Before the newborn child is laid to the breast of the mother to suck, a medicine is given it, prepared from a small fragrant plant, cultivated by the Jibaros, which is

called tsinsimba. The leaves of this plant are carefully chewed and mixed with saliva, and a little of this medicine is put into the mouth of the child by the oldest person in the family, who must be a man if the child is of male sex, and a woman if it is of the female sex. The tsinsimba to which the Jibaros ascribe wonderful properties is believed to strengthen the newborn child. The same medicine is also later given to children of different ages at the 'feast of the children'."

2: Stirling--111[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 844

"When the time for childbirth arrives the woman drinks water with which has been mixed scrapings from the spine of the cashparay. This is supposed to deaden the pain of childbirth. The mother is usually attended by one or two old women. Delivery is from a sitting position, or, if difficulty is experienced, from a half-standing position. As a rule, Jivaro women are very little discommoded by childbirth. At delivery, the umbilical cord is tied in a knot and then cut. Immediately after the delivery the mother goes to the water and washes herself while the old women wash the child. One month after the birth of a child a fiesta is held."

12: Rivet--608 [3] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 844

Certain authors have noted the couvade among the Jívaro (1). Gonzalez Suarez describes this strange custom as follows: "When the moment of birth arrives, the Indian woman goes into the woods to a place where the husband has prepared in advance a sort of portico of three sticks. The cross bar is placed at a height calculated so that the woman hanging from it by her hands finds herself on tiptoe, and in this position she bears her child. As soon as she is delivered she goes to the nearby river, washes the newborn child, bathes herself, and goes back to take care of her domestic duties.

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1. H. W. Bates. Central America, the West Indies and South America. 2nd edition, London, 1882, page 331 - 342.
Elisee Reclus. Nouvelle Geographie Universal, 18.
Amerique du Sud, Les Region andines, Paris, 1893, page 443 - 444.

28: Tessman--362 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 844

As a rule, childbirth takes place in the bush, where two uprights with a crosspiece are erected, to which the woman clings with her hands. Other women support her. The umbilical cord is cut with a knife of reed-bark and formally buried with the placenta in a ditch covered with sticks, etc. The men, especially the child's father, are waiting in the proximity of the houses, and after the birth is completed, they rush into the bush to see the child and to give it a name. Now the mother goes home with the child to lie down on her bed, which is shielded by a wall of leaves. She turns her back against the fire, since this is supposed to speed up her recovery.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the 322 machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob- [534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rattles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [413] [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [389] traded from the frontier Jívaro.

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely employed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [844] umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood [244] weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a [294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [294] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*taračī*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing [252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

842 [789] place after a long period of time, may resort to an anti-sterility remedy, which consists of the pulverized leg bone of a fox, which is mixed with manioc beer and drunk. Both men and women say that the preferred first child is a boy, which is justified on the basis that the father needs, and would enjoy having, a son to go hunting with him. Ideally, the birth of a son should be followed by that of a daughter. There is no clear-cut prejudice against offspring of one sex as against the other.

843 [824] The Jívaro are aware of the relationship between insemination and pregnancy, and predict that a fully mature woman can give birth to a baby when the *naitka* tree (botanical identification unknown) has flowered three times after her marriage. The *naitka* flowers twice a year, so their estimate is a year and a half. If the bride is just barely past puberty, they estimate that a longer period, five *naitka*, or two and a half years, is required.

[836] [849] Since premarital sexual relations are common, the birth of a child in a shorter period after marriage is not a cause for surprise. After the birth of the first baby, a three *naitka* minimum is estimated for the next.

[823] It is recognized that pregnant women have strange food cravings and may practice geophagy, something never done by anyone else in the society. They may eat, in small amounts, unfired pottery clay or the brown earth from tubular, above-ground anthills. When birth is expected within five days or so, the woman's diet is restricted to exclude the meat of certain wild birds.

• 844 Preparation for the birth primarily consists of placing two stout forked sticks, supporting a crossbar about two and a half feet above the ground, in the expectant mother's garden. At the time of birth, a clean banana leaf is placed under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed." 844 •

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting. 846 [854] [837] [761]

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemă* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again. [276] [824] [854] [774] [758]

The child is given a name within a few days after being 553